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Two Lines of Election Battle :

Uphold the Mass Revolutionary Line

Five states of the country are going to polls to elect new legislative assemblies. It comes off when the BJP-led NDA government at the Centre and the parliamentary opposition, especially the Parliament floor combine of the Congress-CPI(M)-CPI, are locking horns and alternately retreating in a show of duel over the 'tehelka expose'. That this particular election happens to coincide in time with a particular exposure of corruption in the highest echelon of the ruling clique is an accidental coincidence. However, experience since the independence has been all-revealing to make the people more and more grow aware that in the existing democratic system, which is but a bourgeois democratic system, corruption has become systemic, meaning the system itself breeds corruption. It is also growing clearer by the day that of the much vaunted bourgeois democracy the only matter of fanfare which remains today with the bourgeois rulers and their machinery of propaganda is the elections — not as a mere ritual, but as a necessary political agenda, and that too corrupted by manipulation and rigging, which again has become systemic.

The band of parliamentary parties of all shades is out in the race, in the current round of elections, to grab power, the power of the *gaddi*, each now frantically engaged in the act of proving itself the best candidate capable of hoodwinking the people and subserving the bourgeois master. Such is where the whole of the bourgeois political agenda periodically converge to — the elections — amid all their perpetrations of fiscal burdening, muzzling of protests, abetting communalism, denying education, perverting culture and breeding corruption in its all-devouring form. The elections are where they, the

bourgeois political masters, periodically huddle the masses to and obtain a forged consent to the continuation of this political system. At their end, the people find themselves being lured and pushed periodically to play the same role of electors for one or the other of the bourgeois options foisted upon them. They confront the same situation again, now in five states.

None of the parliamentary parties are contesting these polls on their individual strength, neither the national nor the regional outfits. Each is in electoral alliance or seat sharing arrangement

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Election and the Revolutionary Politics : From the teachings of Lenin and Shibdas Ghosh

LENIN

... We Bolsheviks participated in the most counter-revolutionary parliaments, and experience has shown that this participation was not only useful but essential for the party of the revolutionary proletariat after the first bourgeois revolution in Russia (1905) in order to prepare the way for the second bourgeois revolution (February 1917), and then for the socialist revolution (October 1917). ...while the workers are building up the instruments of their power in the form of Soviets, it follows that the workers must prepare — ideologically, politically and technically — for the struggle of the Soviets against parliament, for the dispersal of parliament by the Soviets. But it does not follow that this dispersal is hindered, or is not facilitated, by the presence of a Soviet opposition *within* the counter-revolutionary parliament.

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Flays Withdrawal of Quantitative Restriction on Import

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, issued the following statement to the press on 1.4.2001 :

“Lifting of import restriction by the BJP-led central government from today on more than seven hundred items will gladden the kulaks and corporate houses and drastically hit the interest of small and middle producers both in agriculture and industry. This is bound to lead to more and more retrenchment of workers, pauperisation of a large section of peasantry throwing them into complete ruination.

“We urge all well-meaning people to mount pressure upon the central government to compel it to rescind this utterly anti-workers, pro-monopolist policy.”



SUCI Chennai protests against corrupt BJP-led NDA government on 22nd March, 2001

State machine doesn't change its character just through a change in government

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... Parliamentarism, of course, is "politically obsolete" ... but — and that is the whole point — we must *not* regard what is obsolete *for us* as being obsolete *for the class*, as being obsolete *for the masses*. ...that participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is *obligatory* for the party of the revolutionary proletariat *specifically* for the purpose of educating the backward strata *of its own class*, for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, down-trodden, ignorant rural *masses*. As long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you *must* work inside them because *it is there* you will still find workers who are doped by the priests and stultified by the conditions of rural life; otherwise you risk becoming mere babblers.

(Leftwing Communism An Infantile Disorder)

SHIBDAS GHOSH

"...remember, this government (West Bengal government in 1967 of which SUCI was a partner) is not very powerful or all powerful today. It will be a travesty of truth to say that if a party is returned at an election with mandate to form government, that vests in it enough power to change laws at will and solve everything ...the power is the state. The real power is in the hands of those who control the economy, who control the banking system, the mills and factories and all industries; the real power is in the permanent staff of the state, that is in the state structure, in a word.

The state and the government are two different entities. There are two different names for them, both in English and in Bengali —in any language for that matter....The state denotes a system, a concept of law and order, a concept of principles, a concept of some fundamental rights, and on this basis a structure made of bureaucracy and administration, judiciary and the military to protect all theseThe state power protects the capitalist social system with the help of these three main organs or pillarsRemember, with the change of government, these three organs of the state do not change their character. Whether the government changes through election, through a coup, or through any other process by crossing over from one party to another on the floor of parliament — these three organs of the state which are moulded in a particular mould, in a particular way, in a particular manner like a machine, remain unchanged. It is just like a machine with different parts which has been built in a particular way so as to perform a particular type of work. In whichever way the operator, the engineer, the mechanic operates the machine, skillfully or badly—the machine will perform only that type of work for which it has been designed. In the same way the mental makeup, the norms and the structure of the capitalist state machine — its legal—juridical concepts, its concepts about democracy, about the nation, about the people — are all moulded in a particular way to protect capitalism, the capitalist system and the rule of the capitalist class...the capitalist state is a machine — which continuously gives rise to exploitation, creates unemployment,

generates speculation, anarchy, crisis in production, crisis of market, recession, crisis in science, etc., and ensures higher and still higher profits for the capitalist class ... And the government, is just the mechanic or operator of this capitalist state machine. **So, the state machine doesn't change its character just through a change in government. Therefore, the capitalist social system remains in force with the help of these main organs. If the people's committees, starting from the lowest to the highest levels that would be formed through the mass movements, are not built up on the basis of political consciousness and on the edifice of higher morality, ethics and culture and developed in such a manner so that they become adequate to perform the work of these three organs - then we cannot give birth to the alternative state power. And unless this is achieved, revolution will never come merely by a change of government through election.**

...By this political power of the people, I mean forming such conscious, fighting people's committees comprising the people and the youth in the villages and different localities in cities and towns as that can themselves perform and take care of every type of work using their own heads, tackle all situations and problems themselves; those who extend influence over the people not through tyranny or hooliganism, nor with the help of the police force but through their intrinsic qualities, ability, personality, thinking and contemplation, through their character and organising capacity. I am urging formation of such effective, politically conscious, powerful people's organisations right from the village level up to the national level as can take care of their work by tackling all adverse situations....

When people get disgusted and resentful against the government, another government steps in through elections. The common people hold some persons to be dishonest, they think that it will bring them good only if the dishonest are removed and honest men are installed in their place. The bourgeois parliamentary politicians resort to this type of propaganda with the object of confusing the people under cover of a 'principle' or 'ideology'. So, I would caution the workers, peasants and the common people not to be swayed by this type of deception. Because, the basic problems of the common people cannot be resolved through a change of government only. Whatever democratic rights may be conferred, whatever laws may be enacted and whatever programmes for distribution of relief to the people are adopted in the parliamentary system, the emancipation of the people cannot come about by that. ...What happens when a change of government is brought about in this way without a radical change of the state structure? If honest men come into government, that creates further complications because common people have faith in them. If they are confused, despite being honest and cannot take to the path of revolution, they have no other option but to objectively act as the lackeys of the capitalist class. It is this capitalist system they have to reform and further consolidate, yet the grievances of the people get subdued at least for some time because the people trust them. Hence, the bourgeois rule, the capitalist rule only gets the opportunity to further

consolidate and build up a firm foundation during the regime of 'honest' administrators. Thus, Indian capitalism, too, became further entrenched and consolidated under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru...

...Therefore, it is self-deception as well as deceiving others to hold that this capitalist social system and state structure would remain intact and we would try to reform it, would try to do planning within this set up and try to bring about people's well being. Struggles for reform may be there and struggles to secure relief in the interest of the people. But that must have a clear-cut objective — that the movements for these reforms and relief programmes should pave the path of anti-capitalist socialist revolution of India and not proved to be hindrances to it, that such movement should not create illusion about the capitalist system and its parliament, rather it would help to dispel the confusions and illusions of the people. Revolutionaries extend support to reform movements only if they are conducted in this manner and our party, too, supports such movements. Reforms which do not help to strengthen the revolutionary struggle constitute a self-deception, a bourgeois device to keep the people's militancy subdued for some time with sugar coated talks....

...Why do we fight against Congress? Is it because of any personal enmity with the Congress? No. I think that at least we are not fighting it for that. Then, are we fighting Congress because it is doing well and enjoying privileges while we are being deprived? No. We think that we have no moral right to oppose Congress for that reason. Why are we anti-Congress then? Because it is the Congress that is trying to anyhow protect the present capitalist rule by all means, tactics and stratagems, cunningly and through weaving various arguments. Congress is a political party of the capitalists, bourgeois class for the purpose of defending the capitalist social system and state. And because we want to overthrow capitalism, it is our bounden duty to fight the Congress politically.

Therefore, I find no difference between the anti-Congressism of Jan Sangh (predecessor of the present BJP - Ed. *P. Era*), SSP, Congress(O), the Swatantra Party or the Pragati and the anti-Congressism of those who are no longer anti-capitalist or have a programme of anti-capitalist revolution even though they talk about Marxism-Leninism. If they oppose Congress not because they are opposed to capitalism and want to overthrow it whereas the Congress is trying to preserve this very capitalism, that is, if they do not profess anti-capitalist revolution, then what is the difference between their anti-Congressism and the anti-Congressism of say the Pragati? I at least fail to understand the difference — you may think it over. We are anti-Congress because Congress is the protector of capitalism. Otherwise, "the Congress is bad while we are good" — I think such talks are meaningless. Whether one is good or bad is no doubt very important, but far more important and pertinent is the question of the system, the state and the economic system: whether the Indian economic system is capitalist or not and whether the Indian state is trying to consolidate and strengthen Indian capitalism by all means. This is the crux of the

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Splittings and regroupings among bourgeois petty-bourgeois parties reflect crisis within capitalist class

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with some or other of the parliamentary brand. Their leaders and media analysts argue that this is the political necessity of the present situation where no party can emerge with absolute majority through the polls, and to ensure stability of governance and functioning of democracy and to spare the people the burden of elections in quick successions, coalition is the answer. The question arises as to why any of these parties are failing to secure absolute majority? Why are coalition governments falling apart, or are anyhow sticking together flouting all democratic principles and norms solely to retain power? The answer is in the character and the objective of the alliances or coalitions themselves. For example in the present instance while these parties are making up alliances, they are at the same time squabbling over seat allocations, breaking one alliance to enter into another with the one and singular objective of bargaining out a larger share of seats. Internecine fights among factions over seat allocation have reached the extreme in each, and there is the endless spectacle of one party splitting today and another tomorrow over share of seats, one party breaking away from another to combine with a third, one group bargaining overtly with a second and covertly with a third or a fourth, and so on. It is the same with each of these parties, whether it calls itself the BJP, the Congress, the Samajvadi Party, the CPI(M), the CPI, the AIADMK, the DMK, the AGP or by any other name. It is the same in Assam, Kerala, Pondichery, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal — the same two parties making alliance in one state and fighting each other in another or other states. To the common man who has little occasion to follow the maze of crisscrosses of what is happening within and between these parties, big or small, red or saffron, old or new, the situation appears bizarre and incomprehensible. But their natural sense born of the long experience with the ways and means of these bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties of whatever pretensions and profession does not fail them. They do not fail to notice the one common ground on which all these parties stand: it is no principle, nor conscience or concern for the well-being and solution to the burning problems of the lives of millions of downtrodden, deprived and deceived masses over which these parties are squabbling and making and breaking alliances. It is sheer opportunism — avarice or greed for the *gaddi* — for which they seem to be parting ways and then regrouping among themselves. The goal is the *gaddi*, the means hook or crook, anything they consider effective to cheat the masses and win the polls, caring a fig for values, principles, or democratic norms by the bourgeois standard even. At the elections it all translates into exercise of money-muscle-media power, whosoever can exercise it and to whatever extent.

It has to be understood why these parties are interlocked in chains of splittings and regroupings on the eve of the polls as also as their general feature at present. Only then will it be realized that this feature is a reflection of the inalienable all-out crisis of capitalism and it happens from the class compulsion of the ruling bourgeoisie. After the independence, in the then context of the

speediest, widest and freest development of capitalism in this country, the Congress as the unquestionably most trusted agent of the ruling capitalist class to implement this capitalist development programme could carry on its single party rule uninterrupted for almost thirty years. But as crisis followed the development plans as inevitable shadow in this era of historically moribund capitalism, the bourgeois political system, too, came under its impact, and splittings and regroupings were engendered among the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parliamentary parties as a result of the intensifying contradiction between different interests within the bourgeoisie centring round this all-out capitalist crisis. Whoever of these parties or combination of parties won polls and came to power at the Centre or in any of the states, safeguarded the interests of the capitalist rulers and mounted onslaughts on the people, becoming unpopular in the process and seething discontent and resentment among the people are rising. From its deepening all-out crisis the ruling class has been led to try and give shape to its contemplation of introducing a two-party system to the extent possible in the given Indian situation propping up one party or combination of parties against another with the object of arresting people's discontent within the parliamentary ambit and thereby preventing channelisation of the discontent along the revolutionary course against the bourgeois class rule itself. The installation of the first non-Congress government at the Centre in 1977 was an outcome of this bourgeois design.

In pursuit of this design, the ruling class has taken recourse to manipulation and administrative rigging of the polls to the extent possible in a given situation in favour of this or that of its chosen bourgeois or social democratic party or combination of parties, creating a mass psychology in favour of the choice through media orchestration, manipulated opinion polls and other similar means in order to make the forged poll results credible in the people's eye. Parties whom the people know to be bunches of thieves and criminals could find the way to electors' choice under the influence of psychological moulding by media orchestration.

As a result, on the other hand, democratic institutions have been sought to be undermined and democratic principles, practices and standards more and more trampled underfoot. In the overall process accompanying the capitalist crisis, corruption has grown rampant in every nook and corner of the system, affecting it at all levels. The deeper the crisis grows, the more intense becomes the instability of the parliamentary system, and the more rampant the corruption. The bourgeois design for installing a two party parliamentary system in the strict sense has not succeeded, but the class is constantly trying to give shape to the essence of its design, that of confining people's options between two or more of its chosen alternative combinations.

This option of choice from between two alternative combinations or parties does not at all signify a greater democratic power devolving upon the people by the grace of the bourgeoisie compared to when they are under a single party rule. The two or more combinations of the parliamentary parties conduct propaganda or

campaigns against other at the polls, but in the basic respect of their class subservience, that of safeguarding the capitalist class interests, they all stand on the same plank — united behind their bourgeois masters and oppressor against the people. They all capitulate to the capitalist class; their economic policies serve the interests of the capitalist class; they stand by the global capitalist design of liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation; they suppress people's democratic mass movements. At the polls they all give false promises to the electors and flaunt long lists of false claims of success. Where they differ is in the rhetorics and vocabulary they employ to cheat the people and serve the bourgeois class rulers. Whether it is the BJP, the Congress, the CPI(M), or any other outfit, these parties belong to one and the same side, the side of the rulers.

These same parties advocate coalition governments in the present situation, arguing that the instability of the parliamentary system now being witnessed requires this formulation as a necessity for the nation. They hope to make the people see their logic, because taking the people to be a herd of fools has become their second nature. For this they cannot see that they themselves have exposed their insides to the people. How could a lot, themselves riven with splits over pelf and power and unable to unite over share of seats, talk of bringing in stability in governance through coalition among themselves? All their acts of splitting and their bid to regroup themselves veer round the question of pelf and power for which they squabble and fight among themselves. That is the focal point and sole object of their election politics and electoral strategies. When the very system to serve which these parties exist is rotten beyond any hopes of reformation, can a coalition among them, or the option of choice from among any of their coalitions, be a redeeming point to the people? When the base is rotten can the superstructure be freed from rot?

This politics of the parliamentary parties is not only anti-people in character and corrupt to its backbone, it has become criminalised as well. Previously the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and their leaders used to employ criminals for securing petty parliamentary and corrupt individual interests. Nowadays convicted criminals and others charged with crimes are getting elected as MLAs, MPs and becoming ministers even. It is the result and culmination of the all-out degeneration of values, principles and morality. These parties are not ashamed to resort to any form of criminal activities to achieve personal interests or petty political objectives. Party cadres, not professional criminals only, are employed to attack, maim or kill members of other parties and those among the common people who raise voice against political crime. The main target of this criminalised politics is the people in general, and the revolutionary party in particular. For this, so many comrades of our party, the SUCI, have had to lay down their lives.

The BJP has been all-vociferous against the corruption of the Congress regimes, and the same BJP now has been caught red-handed in the tehelka exposure. The myth of its value-based politics is exploded, its real face has now got

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The only force, engaged to overthrow capitalism, generator of corruption, remains above this evil

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nakedly exposed. Everyone understands that the BJP's exposure does not give the Congress a cover to hide its own record of corruptions and scandal. The party which had recently taken the line of going it alone after having been reduced to a wholly discredited political outfit, in a bid to refurbish its image as the only saviour of the people, has lost no time to make a somersault in favour of making alliances with other parties to improve the chances to return to power at the Centre. In Bihar it supports no less a corrupt regime than Laloo Prasad Yadav's RJD government. In Tamil Nadu it is in league with no less a corrupt outfit of Jayalalitha's AIADMK. In West Bengal it has struck alliance with the Trinamul Congress, clearly because the party has adopted the tactics of reaping as much electoral dividends as possible through all possible opportunistic alliances and mounting counterpressures against the BJP-led NDA over the issue of corrupt defence deals, which is also a legacy of the Rajiv Gandhi-Narasimha Rao Congress governments corrupt deals.

In a situation following the tehelka scandal which gives the BJP very little chance of making any significant electoral gains in any of the five states, that party has jumped into alliance with the AGP in Assam in an attempt to foil the Congress' chances of returning to power in the coming polls in that state and consolidate whatever ground it can consolidate at present in the hope of making further grounds in the future elections in other states. This opportunism now finds its reaction in a revolt followed by split of the party, ransacking of its offices and the setting up of a parallel state unit by the dissidents.

In Tamil Nadu the Tamil Manila Congress (TMC) has split, following the announcement by its leader that the party would join hands with the AIADMK. At least two partners of the ruling DMK-led alliance have followed suit. Not the issues of the people's life but the sentiments over the DMK-AIADMK conflict still rule the alignment of political forces in this state. Even the heavy burden of charges against Jayalalitha seem not enough to disqualify the AIADMK ruler, to contest the polls.

Still more queer is the situation in Kerala, where the two main factions of the Congress are at loggerheads over personal interests of their leaders. In the CPI(M) too, its TU wing and the party organisation are locked in horns over allocation of seats.

Everyone understands, these bickerings are not very congenial for the CPI(M) and its so-called left allies. The party's stand in regard to the Congress all these years speaks only of a double-faced policy: mounting tirade against the Congress before the public and going in for clandestine arrangements with the same Congress behind the scene in order to extract maximum parliamentary gains and maintain a posture of the champion of people's cause. With the emergence of the BJP as an alternative to Congress in the scheme of the ruling bourgeoisie in a situation of deepening capitalist crisis, increasing loss of credibility of the Congress in the public eye, treachery by the so-called lefts headed by the

CPI(M) and CPI to the cause of the people all along and absence of countrywide democratic mass movements, the CPI(M) continued with the same policy when during the regime of the UF government at the Centre, the party propped up a so-called third front with break-away groups of the erstwhile Congress under different signboards and at the same time maintained its clandestine liaison with the Congress. Needless to say, all this the CPI(M) has done in the sole interest of petty parliamentary gains. It is this interest which drove the party to make electoral adjustment with Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar and Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu, with the Congress in Karnataka but against it in Kerala. This double-faced social democratic outfit has no doubt gained dividends in parliamentary politics, emerging as the third largest forces in Lok Sabha and continuing its anti-people corrupt rule in West Bengal for 24 years at a stretch. But inevitably its duplicity has got exposed, earning for the CPI(M) increasing mistrust and hatred from the people.

With the eruption of the tehelka scandal the CPI(M) lost no time to bring back the third front from hibernation, now giving it the new signboard of Lok Morcha, with the object of sharing power at the Centre or playing a decisive role in case a non-BJP government be installed at the Centre in the near future. This appears to have clashed with the interest and immediate objective of the Congress under Sonia Gandhi, which has struck alliance with the Trinamul Congress to fight the CPI(M)-led Left Front in West Bengal while the same Congress has allied with the CPI(M) in Assam and Tamil Nadu. It is clear as daylight that the Trinamul Congress on its part, which until now was not only a partner of the BJP-led NDA but was giving full support to the NDA's economic and political policies, calculated it expedient to leave the coalition following the tehelka exposure and take on the posture of a crusader against corruption. Judging this somersault in the background of the Trinamul's professed single-point agenda of ousting the CPI(M)-led Left Front government from West Bengal, it is not difficult to understand that the Trinamul has allied with the Congress, whom it had all along charged with subservience to the CPI(M) in West Bengal, as an out and out opportunistic step to play on the people's deep rooted discontent and hatred against the CPI(M) and capture the *gaddi* in West Bengal.

In the ferocity of this battle for the *gaddi*, violence and killings are increasingly coming to dominate the poll campaign. There is no dearth of crocodile tears from these parties, but innocent common people are in the main falling victim to it. Where the orgy of violence, arson, loot and murder are the order, where the parties in power are blatantly using the administrative machinery to influence and rig the electoral process, the Central Election Commission, let alone intervening or at least trying to intervene to make the poll process free and fair, restricts its duties to asking the state governments to keep the walls free from graffiti written by contesting candidates, as if this measure can restore the status of free and fair elections to the rigged elections. The CEC's sole concern seems to be improvement of the

electoral code of conduct which in reality is being observed more in violation than by abiding. Before this, the CEC had increased the amount of deposit money of candidates by twenty times during the regime of the UF government supported by both the Congress and the CPI(M). Not only that. Under the CEC's new regulations, elections will not be countermanded except in the case of deaths of candidates of registered parties. The object of all these new changes is not difficult to see. It is part of the all-out bid to put more burden on the revolutionary party of the people and squeeze it out of election arena.

These are all brazen-faced manoeuvres of the parliamentary parties of all shades to break and make alliance, and then to make and break alliance as the expediency of electoral interests demands, as the need to hoodwink the people emphasizes, as the compulsion of subserving the ruling master commands. It is these manoeuvres which appear as the maze of crisscrosses in the eye of the common man.

What have these manoeuvres for petty parliamentary gains to do with the problems in the lives of the people? They are haunted by the all encumbering problem of hunger, shelter, education and health, the problems of survival itself. Numerous elections have taken place in the last five decades. There have been changes of governments, and almost all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties have been in the seat of power at the Centre or at one or more of the states for some of this period. These problems have not lessened, nor relented; they have only mounted. Experience teaches that change of government, that is change of the guard of the bourgeois state, cannot and does not solve the problems which the people have in life. It is not the problem of stability of the bourgeois or petty bourgeois governance which is important to the people. Alleviation of misery, the solution of the burning problems of life, is the one and only important question to them. The only way out of it is to take recourse to united legitimate democratic mass movements, the only way of mass and class struggles on the correct base political line and higher cultural edifice oriented to the historic goal of radical transformation of this society. When elections come, the battle of elections is to be fought as part and parcel of the legitimate democratic mass movements.

Armed with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts the SUCI takes part in the election battle with this outlook and approach, and not for gaining any pelf and power. No other party views the matter this way. No other party is fighting elections over the issue of the basic problem in the people's life. Only the SUCI is doing so. The SUCI fights to win as many seats as it can, but the focal point of its objective in the election battle is not capturing the maximum number of seats to go to win the *gaddi*. The focal point is to advance the cause of the revolutionary line, to raise the voice of the mass movements on the floor of the legislature in order to educate the people and strengthen the revolutionary line.

It ought to be constantly kept in mind that
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Relief Work in Gujarat Continues

Gujarat State Organising Committee of the SUCI has still been zealously conducting relief work in the earthquake hit state. News and pictorial display of our relief activities came out in our earlier issues. Now we produce some remarkable events that occurred in course of relief work.

All India Response

At the call of Comrade Nihar Mukhrjee, our beloved General Secretary, teams of doctors, crates of medicine, volunteers, relief materials and cash contributions poured in Gujarat from West Bengal, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana. Aids also came from Tamil Nadu, Assam, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and many more places.

In Gujarat, volunteers from Ahwa of Dang district, Surat, Baroda, Bhiloda (Sabarkantha district) and Ahmedabad jumped into relief operations.

Organisations unwilling to hand over their relief materials to the government sent the same either to our earthquake relief centre at Ahmedabad or to our base camp at Bhachhau.

The massive relief operations were possible with the active participation of professors writers, poets, performing artists, civil liberty activists of Movement for Secular Democracy, students, women organisations activists of Dushkaal Pratirodh Samittee, St Xavier Social Service Centre, Mithakhali Youth Organisation, Jain religious organisation, retired officers.

Movement

On rail authority's refusal to provide the promised free service, the AIDS volunteers staged a demonstration in front of the Railway superintendent and as a result a free coach for passengers who were to board at Vijaywada was

attached.

Gujarat Government's vindictiveness towards SUCI

SUCI started relief work right from 31st January, organising all sorts of activities from Bhachhau base camp. It was acknowledged and appreciated by the office of the Chief Minister. But SUCI activists received threats from local administrators in Bhuj and Bhachhau.

Our local party organisation appealed to the Governor and the People's Union for Civil Liberties (CPUCL) for intervention.

Education Relief

A library named Shyamji Krishnavarma Bagasingh Meghani after three national figures was opened with people's help in Bhachhau on 23 March, the 70th anniversary of the martyrdom of Shaheed Bhagat Singh as a part of our cultural educational relief. The library was attended by a large gathering of people. Noted journalist Prakashbhai Shah was the chief guest. Dramatists, senior citizens and teachers of the footpath *shala* No. 20, including noted Sarvodaya activist Rameshbhai Sanghvi were present. Besides, senior lecturers Dr Dharendra Mehta, Darshana Dholakia, Janakbhai Dave, and people from Bhuj, Baroda, Ahmedabad and Surat were also present.

The programme was conducted by Meenakshiben Joshi.

SUCI opened an Education Help Cell for college students and more than 400 students were registered from science, arts and commerce. Local daily *Kutchh Mitra* supported the cause.

On 19 March an education centre was opened at the devastated campus of R.R. Lalan College. It was inaugurated by Shri Kirtibhai Khatri, editor of *Kutchh Mitra* and attended by large number of students, college teachers of Lalan College and

professors from Ahmedabad.

The SUCI-conducted educational cell was coordinated by Ranita Nagar. Classes were taken in the open field, in the *mandaps* and rented tents. No help came from the government. Bhuj College lecturers, themselves victims, volunteered to teach. Professors, lecturers, retired professors from Baroda, Ahmedabad also took classes.

But the authorities were not happy. In a letter on 23 March they asked to vacate the campus immediately. To resist it a letter was faxed to the Governor. However, in presence of Bhuj Collector the matter was settled.

Adivasi Movement at Udaipur

Under the banner of Adivasi Eld Andolon, over one thousand adivasi people including women and children staged a dharna in Udaipur, Rajasthan for 4 days since 30 March. They demanded 1) job for every tribal family, 2) continuance of relief work till the next crop is ready, 3) supply of free seeds to every family before monsoon, 4) independent commission to investigate into the corruption committed in the name of adivasi development and report within 6 months, 5) records of the last 15 years of activities of Panchayat Samiti.

In the afternoon of 2nd April, the police in an attempt to break up the demonstration by brute force came down heavily on the tribal people, including women, injuring many. The tribal people were forcibly put on trucks and released at far off locations from their homes, some 30 to 35 kilometers from Udaipur.

Police brutality was condemned by many organisations.

Uphold the Mass Revolutionary Line

(Contd. from page 4)

today capitalism is not only crisis-ridden, it is corrupt to the backbone. Whoever goes to serve this rotten capitalist rule, sink in the mire of corruption. Only those can keep themselves free from the tentacles of corruption who are engaged in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow this corrupt order. Only those can fight this systemic corruption who unflinchingly pursue this line.

The SUCI, therefore, calls upon the people to elect its candidates who are fighters, tested in the fire of legitimate democratic mass movements, who are product of revolutionary struggle, stand by this struggle and are ready to die for the cause of this struggle. In those constituencies where the SUCI has not been able to put up its own party candidates, the electors should come forward to form voters' committees to stand by those candidates who have a record of honest participation in legitimate democratic mass movements, who have a mind and inclination for these movements. Every vote cast in favour of the SUCI candidates, or candidates for democratic mass movements, is a drop of blood donated to strengthen the people's struggles towards ushering in the people's ultimate victory.

Bhagat Singh Day observed

Jabalpur

On 23 March 1931, the revolutionary fighters of the freedom movement, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru, were hanged by the British rulers at Lahore jail. This day, the 70th anniversary of Martyrdom of Saheed -E-Azam, was observed on 23 March this year by the AIMSS, Buniyad Club and Kanchghar Nagarik Samiti at the office of the Buniyad Club, Kanchghar, Jabalpur.

The portrait of Saheed-E-Azam was garlanded by Smt. Nilima Roy, Sanjay Yadav, Smt. Sabitri Mangal Parag, Smt. Mithilesh Nayak and Harilal. A song on Bhagat Singh was sung by Kalpana Chakraborty and Swapan Chakraborty of Smriti Natya Sangha. Sri Sanjay Yadav spoke on life and struggle of Bhagat Singh. At the end he called upon the people to unleash movements against all sorts of exploitations, oppression and injustice prevailing in the society to accomplish the cherished dreams of Bhagat Singh.

On this occasion a poets' meet was held. Presided over by Pradeep Gumasta, the meet was participated by Sarbasree Mohan Sashi, Sushama Ojha, Puspa Dubey, Mukul Arpit, Abinash 'Mashrur', Ravi Pradhan, Mithilesh Nayak Dilip Deep, Mahendra Soni Jaudra and others.

The entire function was presided over by Smt. Nilima Roy and Sri Harilal Viswakarma conducted the proceedings.

Badlapur (Jaunpur)

The martyr's day of Shaheed-E-Azam Bhagat Singh and Rajguru and Shukdev was observed at Khajuram Triroad of Badlapur Area. On this occasion Jaunpur SUCI activists organised a mass meeting presided over by Comrade Dinesh Kant Dubey, Advocate, UP State Committee member SUCI. At the beginning people garlanded the portrait of the martyrs. Comrade Ram Yash Maurya, Comrade Sripal Dubey, Advocate, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Upadhyay, Comrade Surendra Nath Maurya addressed the meeting. All the speakers appealed to carry the thoughts of Bhagat Singh to the masses and form revolutionary organisations. Comrade Dinesh Kant Dubey discussed the role of all political parties which are serving the exploitative system and told that without establishing the rule of the working class there can be no solution of the problems. Comrades should carry the thoughts of Bhagat Singh to the people to prepare their mind for anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Election and the Revolutionary Party

(Contd. from page 2)

matter... (The above portion is an excerpt from Comrade Ghosh's speech delivered on 24th April, 1974. At that time, the Congress was the undisputed trusted political representative of the ruling Indian capitalist class serving its aggregate interest, enjoying an unbroken tenure in the Central Government ever since independence. At present, the BJP is aspirant and trying to move into the position held by the Congress for so long. — Ed. *P. Era*)...

...Although on the surface there are many contending sides in politics and although the big press projects and props up many a side, I think there are in reality only two sides in the perspective of the main movement — one is for revolution while the other is opposing revolution — whether it is on behalf of the Congress through its politics, through various juggleries of "leftism", through the slogan of democratic socialism or through various slogans and catchy political stunts of the right reactionaries.

...Some comrades ask: What's the use of taking part in election when it is rigged? They do not know that within the question itself is hidden their misconception and confusion. The question boils down to this: When despite best of our effort we will not be allowed to win, what is the use of taking part in election? No, we are in election because the fever of parliamentary politics grips people's mind during an election. For how long? So long as a revolutionary party has not acquired adequate strength and been able to educate the masses with minimum political consciousness through various struggles including the elections coming in-between, all conducted complementary and related to the principal political objective.

This phase of democratic mass movement would not have been there had one revolution been transformed into another averting the path of consolidation of capitalism and the tradition of parliamentary politics as happened in the November Revolution of Russia. The Bolshevik Party was in that position. They could form the Soviets on the morrow of the February Revolution. Could our 'Leftists' accomplish this task in our country during our freedom movement? Let alone isolating the bourgeois leadership — they, these socialists, revolutionary socialists, communists — came into alliance with it in a national front. They had no political strategy to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. As a result, the worker-peasant-people soviets did not appear. The bourgeoisie could easily seize the state power. That is why, it was not possible, as in Russia, to make the bourgeois revolution skip over to and made interwoven with the socialist revolution. We are passing through the phase of parliamentary democracy.

In a situation like this, therefore, where democratic establishment or parliamentary democracy strikes roots, no matter how much resentment grows spontaneously among the people, they do not reject parliamentary politics. And rejection is not for rejection's sake but for doing something positive. If we reject parliamentary politics and confine ourselves within our shell isolated from the masses or pursue our revolutionary line 'illegally' before exhausting this phase of democratic mass movement, that cannot help revolution....

... So long as revolution does not come about,

whether the people want election or not, like or dislike it, they are dragged into it, they come into it. Revolution means, when the people have understood that there is no necessity of election, when they have got organised on the basis of this consciousness, are boycotting election in an organised manner and not negatively, when they have arrived at the stage of uprising in a positive manner and say "No, no more elections but capture of power", only then election ceases to be useful. Otherwise, the people get caught in election fever again and again. And revolutionaries as well as non-revolutionaries, all have to participate in election in order to be with the people — even genuine revolutionaries have to do this. Only those who practise sectarian puritanism and not revolutionary politics, keep away from election, spare themselves the bother — all else have to participate. Now, while participating, should the approach be the same for all? Outwardly viewed, all are getting involved in elections — himself, we the revolutionary Leninists, the social democrats, the genuine as also the shams, the bourgeoisie and the pseudo-socialists too. And everybody would take the stand that he is right while the others are wrong. And the argument put up would be that any tactics or stratagem to defeat the opposing parties is justified because my party is right. If you argue like this, then no difference in class approach remains between you and the bourgeoisie, no difference in attitude and outlook. But this is proved to be wrong on close examination.

In fact, the tactics of struggle, style of work, organisational method, approach to election and the tactics for winning or losing are all determined on the basis of the concrete stage of the revolutionary movement and the level of mass consciousness in the country. The main objective of the bourgeoisie is to win the maximum number of seats in the election by hook or by crook to capture power and being installed in power, to adopt various reform programmes and raise catchy slogans in order to perpetuate the existing system. To adopt a style of speaking that helps them to pose as progressives before the people in order to keep them confused and befooled for some time and thus lengthen the lease of life of this present system — such is their objective. So their main aim becomes to anyhow grab as many seats as possible in the election. Besides, they also present political programmes, immediate programmes of the work, etc. Whatever be such programmes and slogans of theirs, their real purpose is to grab the maximum number of seats.

And when the proletariat has no other option but to enter into election battle from the revolutionary purposiveness of staying with the people, it does so on the basis of the revolutionary mass political line. It too tries its best to win the seats but anyhow capturing the maximum number of seats should never become the central focal point of its objective. The main focal point should be to train the people to fight the election battle on the basis of a mass revolutionary line. If we can win maximum seats while doing so, well and good; if we can win not even one seat, so be it; ... but the central focal point for us would never be to grab some seats by any means, fair or foul.

What is that mass line and mass style of activity that I will carry to the people at the election time? I will go among the masses with the message: since you have to take part in the election, you

should do so from the viewpoint of the people, on the basis of revolutionary politics. While doing so, you take utmost care to guard and protect your bases. Win as many seats as you can, the maximum number that you can, if possible even all the seats if you can on this basis, on the basis of this line. Only on this basis and not by confusing it. If you argue like "do whatever necessary to defeat the enemies anyhow" even while wearing the label of revolutionary, then in reality you would be trying to put into practice, in the name of revolution, the very same tactics and style of work the bourgeoisie adopts to fight elections. Does this make one a revolutionary? Does this advance the cause of revolution? No, this does not make one a revolutionary; nor does it advance the revolutionary work. Does it achieve what we say about exposing bourgeois parliamentary politics through election? Just to mouth such talks and to actually put this into practice — are these two the same thing? ...

... All the parties, even those with labels of Leftism, are united in a conspiracy to isolate the SUCI. They want the SUCI to surrender to their vile election-oriented politics. We can never submit to this combined pressure of such "Left" parties. They have failed to realize that this is not an election-oriented party. True, this party participates in elections while conducting mass movements. But this party gains in strength in spite of electoral defeats. The workers of this party are so trained that when they fight an election, they fight like tigers, but at the same time, they are mentally prepared to face defeat. So I ask them: How dare you raise the bogey of election trying to scare us into surrendering our revolutionary base political line for fear of electoral reverses? ..."

Source:

- The following speeches of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh:
1. Speech on "People's Liberation Pledge Day" (15th August, 1967)
 2. Labour Policy of First UF Government — its real significance. (14th May, 1967)
 3. Gana Andoloner Samasya Prasange (concerning mass movement) 21st June, 1975)
 4. Some aspects of Revolutionary Proletarian Party and the Role of its Workers. (a compilation of speeches)

Joint rally held in Jaunpur

SUCI, CPI, CPI(M), RSP, and COI(ML) held joint dharna on 30th March last at Jaunpur DM office against anti-people central budget as well the anti-people policies of the state and the central governments. People from all corners of Uttar Pradesh participated in it.

A presidium conducted the dharna, which included Jagdish Chandra Asthana(SUCI), Srikrishna Sharma (CPI), Vijai Pratap Singh (RSP), Bachau Ram (COI-ML) and Jafar Ahmad (CPI-M) and Anwar Haider.

SUCI State Secretary V.N. Singh, state Office Secretary Jagannath Verma, CPI leaders Ram Pratap Tripathi, Jai Prakash, CPI(M) leaders Jailal, Awadh Narayana Yadav, Tudrajit Pal, RSP leader Jagdeo Prasad Verma and COI(ML) leader Bachau Ram in their address condemned the central budget and anti-people policies of the governments. They urged the people to build up struggle committees from grass-root levels and develop powerful left movements.

Price of Globalisation : Enron extorts hundreds of crores from the government

Now it is the turn of the US multinational power giant Enron. Its subsidiary Davol Power Company in Maharashtra is up with the arms of counter-guarantee to extort hundreds of crores of rupees from the Government of India for realising 16 per cent guaranteed profit and has threatened the Maharashtra government to issue Letter of Credit on Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) thereby meaning that the accounts of the MSEB with concerned banks would be attached and the money paid to Enron's creditors which is not only dangerous for the MSEB but also humiliating to the Maharashtra government and the government of India.

According to the Power Purchase Agreement and counter-guarantee promised by the Maharashtra Government and the central government at the time of establishment of Davol power project by Enron the MSEB is bound to purchase all the power generated by Davol Power Company at a price so as to maintain its profit @16% and, if in any case, MSEB fails to purchase all the power it will be bound to pay up the bill for unutilised power even. If MSEB fails to pay, Maharashtra government will pay for MSEB and if Maharashtra government also fails the central government will pay. Such was the stringent conditions of Enron.

Now MSEB owes to DPC i.e. Enron Rs.79 crore for November and Rs.152 crore for December 2000. The bill for January '01 is Rs. 127 crore. Similar bills for the future is expected. The MSEB, it says, is unable to pay such huge amount of bills as the tariff of power of DPC is too high. It may be mentioned that at the time of signing of agreement with Enron by the MSEB and construction of the project during the Congress government in Maharashtra widespread protest from every corner against the agreement with the above stringent and blatantly biased conditions swept Maharashtra and at that time the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance in the state made it an issue against the Congress before the then election in the state. The agreement was also scrapped by the BJP-Shiv Sena government after coming to power there. But after some understanding developed between the Enron authority and the BJP-Shiv Sena leadership the state government renegotiated the project within a year and the 13-day Vajpayee Government at the Centre secretly approved counter-guarantee to Enron just before its inevitable fall although it could do nothing during those thirteen days except horse-trading. Be it mentioned that at the time of signing the counter-guarantee agreement the Vajpayee government had not even won a vote of confidence in Parliament.

Pursuant to the policy of liberalisation-globalisation and privatisation, the Congress government invited Enron to set up the Dhaval power project accepting the above conditionalities. Before it, MSEB was one of the most profitable semi-government organisation in the country. After the Davol power project started generation in 1999, MSEB incurred a loss to the tune of Rs.850 in a single year 1999-2000 for compulsorily purchasing power at an exorbitantly high price ranging up to nearly Rs.7 per unit whereas the MSEB itself generates the same at a cost of only 32 paise per unit in case of hydro-electricity and Rs.1.25 per unit for thermal power and purchase the same at Rs.1.40 from National Thermal Project

Corporation. Thus a profitable semi-government organisation, MSEB, is rapidly being pushed to be a loss-making one. This is the price of liberalisation and globalisation.

However, after invoking counter-guarantee by Enron the state government has of late somehow paid up the dues for November Rs.79 crore and has expressed its inability to pay further. In that case the central government will have to pay the rest Rs.152 crore for December and subsequent dues in future. The Davol Power Corporation President, Neil McGregor, has threatened, the government must "recognise the serious domestic and international implication of contractual agreements of not being honoured." (*The Statesman*, 7.2.2001). The situation is so serious that the member of Prime Minister's economic advisory council and convener of the BJP's economic cell, Jagdish Shettigar, described the DPC's attitude as "bulldozing technique". He even confessed that the high cost of the DPC, which is making power costly, will be reduced by indigenous naphtha and depending on other cheaper alternatives (ibid). Now while Enron is tightening the noose on the government he is crying hoarse. But Enron was awarded with this contract even without any open tender. At that time many Indian agencies and firms claimed they could set up the same first track project at a much cheaper cost. The Officers' Association of BHEL, an experienced and efficient PSU in this field, protested against this suicidal move of the government and demanded BHEL

should be entrusted with the job. But the government approved the most unjustified and ill-motivated counter-guarantee to Enron as a matter of the ruling class's open door policy or globalisation.

The Indian rulers know it very well that the power generation technology of the western developed capitalist-imperialist countries now finds little market there and these power multinationals like Enron, GE, Cogentrix etc. choose the developing and underdeveloped for exporting technology and their idle capital to reap super profit — these countries are now their favourite hunting ground. Still the Indian bourgeoisie, particularly the ruling monopolists, are opening up the door to them for getting, in exchange, an opening to and share of globalised foreign market. Thus the Davol crisis has developed as a result of zealous pursuit of liberalisation-globalisation policy by the rulers solely in the interest of the bourgeoisie and to the detriment of the people's interest. For, ultimately it is the people and the consumers who are to pay for the drainage of hundreds of crores of rupees from the public exchequer every month to the coffers of Enron, either in the form of exorbitantly high power tariff or in the form of other taxes.

Enron is already infamous for its notoriety in many countries. In Kerala the CPI(M)-led LDF government invited this multinational company to set up a power plant at Kunnur, but people's movement ultimately drove this company out of Kerala.

All these facts bring to the fore one vital question — in whose interest all these governments led by parties like the Congress, BJP or CPI(M) work? (15.03.2001)

The oasis of high-tech job opportunities turns into desert

The Silicon valley blues — the sudden slump in US high-tech sector and its repercussions in India have come as a rude shock to a large number of people who have been taken in by deceptive government and media propaganda about information technology revolution ushering in prosperity and endless job opportunities — conjuring up visions of an oasis in the midst of gloomy economic scenario that is bound to grow endlessly. Unaware of the underlying capitalist realities a large section of people consider their only hope to lie in this avenue, and many even from the lower middle class are being duped, by the institutions which have mushroomed, many of dubious character, purporting to train people, often at exorbitant prices. And what is the result?

In the USA itself, due to economic recession hundreds of thousands of high tech workers and software professionals are suddenly faced with the threat of lay off or retrenchment. According to *Washington Post*, citing a study by the Information Technology Association of America, (ITAA) the demand for US high tech workers has suddenly fallen by 44%. Large employers across the country who hired 1.6 million technical workers last year, plan to hire only 900 000 in 2001. These ITAA results were based on a survey of 685 companies that each employ more than 50 workers. Thus for example such prominent US enterprises like Cisco Systems Inc. and giant Intel Corp. have both announced that they will terminate upto 5000 jobs. Cisco has said a part of these are H1-B visa holders, i.e. foreigners. In this

context it may be mentioned that Indians constitute the bulk of the foreign high-tech workers at 43%. Hence the alluring promise held out by Silicon valley so long, has suddenly come to a halt coming like a bolt out of the blue to the countless high tech workers, including Indians. The latter, i.e. the H1-B visa holders, whose position despite lucrative salaries until now, has been little better than bonded labourer, find themselves not only without a job from one day to the other, but are forced to leave the country immediately unless they can find a new job within 10 days.

As a result of this US slump, Indian information technology has been severely affected and job opportunities are at an all time low. Placement firms in our country for infotech industries say, according to *The Times of India* (6.4.01) there is a drop of 30-40% in job opportunities in this sector. Lalit Kanodia, chairperson, Datamatics says: "There is surplus staff in every software company. So we have stopped recruitments." The US economy slowdown is for real, says Nasscom president Dewang Mehta, adding that along with the hardware and software companies even the telecom sector is getting hit. Moreover, with a large number of software professionals returning from USA thronging the job market and drastic drop in job opportunities salaries are being slashed drastically.

So much for the much propagated infotech revolution. The dreams of countless people are going to be shattered

LIST OF SUCI CANDIDATES

[Below we publish the list of candidates of our party SUCI approved by the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in the ensuing elections in Assam, Kerala, Tamilnadu and West Bengal]

| <u>District</u> | <u>Constituency</u> | <u>Name of the candidates</u> | <u>District</u> | <u>Constituency</u> | <u>Name of the candidates</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Assam | | | | | |
| Dibrugarh | 1. Naharkatia | Comrade Mahendra Gogoi | | 19. Jangipur | Comrade Mirza Nasiruddin |
| Darrang | 2. Mangaldoi (Sc) | Comrade Sourav Bania | | 20. Bhagwangola | Comrade Abul Kalam Azad |
| | 3. Paneri | Comrade Swarnalata Chaliha | | 21. Murshidabad | Comrade Sajem Ali |
| | 4. Kalaigaon | Comrade Jitendra Chaliha | | 22. Jalangi | Comrade Ahiya Mondal |
| Kamrup | 5. Kamalpur | Comrade Sisir Kakoti | | 23. Domkal | Comrade Baizid Hossain |
| Nalbari | 6. Nalbari | Comrade Siddheswar Sharma | | 24. Nawda | Comrade Jannat Ali |
| Goalpara | 7. Goalpara West | Comrade Nazmul Haque | Nadia | 26. Kandi | Comrade Manwar Hossain |
| | 8. Goalpara East | Comrade Chandrlekha Das | | 27. Karimpur | Comrade Azadur Rahaman |
| | 9. Jaleswar | Comrade Abdul Aowal Mian | | 28. Palashipara | Comrade Jakimuddin Sekh |
| Dhubri | 10. South Salmara | Comrade Joynal Abedin | | 29. Nakashipara | Comrade Milan Mazumdar |
| | 11. Mankachar | Comrade Surot Zamman Mandal | | 30. Kaliganj | Comrade Harroj Ali |
| | 12. Dhubri | Comrade Prasanta Das | | 31. Ranaghat East (SC) | Comrade Nirmal Biswas |
| Cachar | 13. Dholai (Sc) | Comrade Hemendra Das | North 24 Parganas | 32. Gaighata | Comrade Robin Biswas |
| | 14. Silchar Town | Comrade Tushar Purkayastha | | 33. Habra | Comrade Tushar Ghosh |
| | 15. Barkhala | Comrade Jitendra Das | | 34. Ashoknagar | Comrade Sadhan Ghosh |
| Karimganj | 16. Karimganj North | Comrade Arunangshu Bhattacharyya | | 35. Swarupnagar | Comrade Jayanta Saha |
| | 17. Patharkandi | Comrade Debangshu Nath | | 36. Bijpur | Comrade Arinjay Mukherjee |
| Hailakandi | 18. Hailakandi Town | Comrade Sushil Paul | South 24 Parganas | 37. Gosaba (SC) | Comrade Nirmal Sarkar |
| Kerala | | | | 38. Kultali (SC) | Comrade Probodh Purkait |
| Thiruvananthapuram | 1. Thiruvananthapuram West | Comrade P.S. Gopakumar | | 39. Joynagar | Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar |
| | 2. Thiruvananthapuram East | Comrade B. Imamuddin | | 40. Canning West (SC) | Comrade Badal Sardar |
| Kollam | 3. Kundara | Comrade Sreejith Sudhakar | | 41. Satgachia | Comrade Timir Ghosh |
| | 4. Eravipuram | Comrade S.Radhakrishnan | | 42. Magrahat West | Comrade Gautam Mondal |
| | 5. Punalur | Comrade G. Dhruvakumar | | 43. Mandirbazar (SC) | Comrade Prohlad Purkait |
| Alappuzha | 6. Mavelikkara | Comrade R. Parthasarathy Varma | | 44. Mathurapur | Comrade Sahadeb Naskar |
| | 7. Harippad | Comrade E.N. Santhiraj | | 45. Kulpi (SC) | Comrade Bhola Mondal |
| | 8. Ambalappuzha | Comrade P.K. Sasi | | 46. Patharpratima | Comrade Asim Panda |
| | 9. Alappuzha | Comrade S. Radhamony | | 47. Kakdwip | Comrade Amiya Sasmal |
| | 10. Kuttanadu | Comrade P.R.Satheesaan | Calcutta | 48. Sagar | Comrade Protiva Mishra (Swati) |
| | 11. Aroor | Comrade N.K. Sasikumar | Howrah | 49. Kabitirtha | Comrade Upendra Bhakt |
| Pathanamthitta | 12. Pathanamthitta | Comrade K.S. Kavitha | | 50. Howrah Central | Comrade Soumitra Sengupta |
| Idukki | 13. Thodupuzha | Comrade N. Vinodkumar | | 51. Shyampur | Comrade Pradip Mondal |
| Kottayam | 14. Kottayam | Comrade K.P. Vijayan | Hoogly | 52. Bagnan | Comrade Chandi Charan Maity |
| | 15. Changanacherry | Comrade Mini K. Philip | | 53. Serampur | Comrade Surajit DebRoy |
| | 16. Vaikom (SC) | Comrade C.K.Sivadasan | | 54. Haripal | Comrade Pradip Singha |
| Ernakulam | 17. Piravom | Comrade K.K.Sobha | Midnapur | 55. Nondanpur | Comrade Madhusudan Manna |
| | 18. Angamaly | Comrade P.P.Augusty | | 56. Panskura East | Comrade Anurpa Das |
| Thrissur | 19. Guruvayoor | Comrade Adv. Panjimala Balakrishnan | | 57. Tamluk | Comrade Tapan Bhowmik |
| Palakkad | 20. Palakkad | Comrade M.J. Joseph | | 58. Moyna | Comrade Nakul Jana |
| Kozhikkode | 21. Kozhikkode-1 | Comrade V.K. Sadanandan | | 59. Bhagwanpur | Comrade Narayan Das |
| | 22. Koduvally | Comrade P.M. Sreekumar | | 60. Contai South | Comrade Kalpana Das |
| Kannur | 23. Kannur | K. Jayaraj | | 61. Sabong | Comrade Jagannath Das |
| Tamilnadu | | | | 62. Midnapur | Comrade Prantosh Maity |
| | 1. Egmore | Comrade V. Sivakumar | | 63. Narayanganj | Comrade Surya Prophan |
| | 2. Park Town | Comrade N.P. Durai | | 64. Jhargram | Comrade Arun Das |
| West Bengal | | | Purulia | 65. Binpur | Comrade Samay Kisku |
| Coochbehar | 1. Mekhliganj (SC) | Comrade Pramila Roy | | 66. Arsha | Comrade Tilak Bauri |
| | 2. Coochbehar (West) | Comrade Nripen Karji | | 67. Purulia | Comrade Prabir Mahato |
| | 3. Sitai | Comrade Anil Barman | | 68. Para (SC) | Comrade Paresh Bauri |
| | 4. Natabari | Comrade Accharuddin Ahmed | | 69. Raghunathpur (SC) | Comrade Bijay Bauri |
| | 5. Tufanganj (SC) | Comrade Taren Border | | 70. Kashipur (ST) | Comrade Bhudeb Hembram |
| Jalpaiguri | 6. Alipurduar | Comrade Avijit Roy | Bankura | 71. Hura | Comrade Mantu Murmu |
| | 7. Falakata (SC) | Comrade Tarani Roy | | 72. Indpur (SC) | Comrade Sadananda Mondal |
| | 8. Mainaguri (SC) | Comrade Suresh Roy | | 73. Chhatna | Comrade Kanai Mondal |
| | 9. Jalpaiguri | Comrade Subrata Duttagupta | | 74. Bankura | Comrade Gobardhan Shit |
| | 10. Rajganj (SC) | Comrade Bhagin Roy | | 75. Onda | Comrade Swapan Mondal |
| Darjeeling | 11. Phansidewa (ST) | Comrade Mahendra Bhakt | Bardhaman | 76. Bishnupur | Comrade Mahammad Idris |
| North Dinajpur | 12. Karandighi | Comrade Moktar Ahmed | | 77. Kulti | Comrade Kallol Roy |
| | 13. Raiganj (SC) | Comrade Binoy Mallick | | 78. Durgapur 1 | Comrade Prabhati Goswami |
| South Dinajpur | 14. Kumarganj (SC) | Comrade Nanda Saha | | 79. Durgapur 2 | Comrade Bhaskar Roychoudhury |
| Malda | 15. Gazole (ST) | Comrade Shibananda Soren | Birbhum | 80. Mongalkot | Comrade Vriguram Majhi |
| | 16. Harishchandapur | Comrade Jayanti Jha | | 81. Suri | Comrade Anita Mukherjee |
| Murshidabad | 17. Aurangabad | Comrade Tipu Sultan | | 82. Mahammad Bazar | Comrade Quddus Ali |
| | 18. Suti | Comrade Dr. Sarbeswar Mondal | | 83. Hasan (SC) | Comrade Baidyanath Mal |
| | | | | 84. Nalhati | Comrade Sirajuddulha |
| | | | | 85. Murarai | Comrade Rafikul Hasan |
| | | | By-Election of Midnapur Parliamentary Constituency | | |
| | | | | 1. Midnapur | Comrade Akshoy Khan |